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FOREIGN POLICY BULLETIN

An interpretation of current international events by the Research Staff of the Foreign Policy Association

FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION, Incorporated

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U.N. ESTABLISHES "LITTLE ASSEMBLY" DESPITE RUSSIA'S OPPOSITION

WHILE public attention here and in Europe has been focused on methods of implementing the Marshall proposal for long-term reconstruction, the General Assembly of the United Nations, now drawing to the close of its second session, has chalked up a series of decisions which, in the opinion of American delegates, will eventually mark out this session as a momentous step forward in international organization. The General Assembly has established a permanent commission to aid in restoring order in the Balkans; a commission to supervise elections in Korea planned for March 1948; and an Interim Committee, popularly known as the "Little Assembly," which is to function during the interval between the closing of the General Assembly and the opening of its third session, scheduled to take place in a European city in September 1948.

All three of these decisions were strongly urged by Secretary of State Marshall in his opening address to the General Assembly on September 17. All three have been bitterly contested by Russia, and by the five countries of Eastern Europe and the Balkans which have consistently voted on its side—Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Byelorussia and the Ukraine. On each occasion, when the American proposals were accepted by overwhelming majorities, first in the Political and Security Committee, then in the General Assembly, Russia and its supporters declared that they would boycott the newly created organs, and would resist the voting of UN funds for their maintenance. The only resolution proposed by Russia—a resolution denouncing, "warmongering," originally with specific reference to the United States, Britain and Turkey—was voted by the General Assembly without a dissenting vote on November 3, after it had been vigorously opposed by the United States which had declared that it should not even be

considered by the Political and Security Committee. In its final form, the Russian resolution was very much softened by a compromise draft worked out by Australia, France and Canada which, omitting any references to specific nations, appealed to all governments to abstain from war propaganda and promote friendly relations among nations.

PURPOSE OF INTERIM COMMITTEE. The American delegation has advanced two main arguments for the creation of the Interim Committee. First, it contends that the Committee, meeting in intervals between sessions, would enable the General Assembly to discharge more effectively than it does at the present time the functions with respect to maintenance of peace entrusted to it under the Charter. Second, it believes that by dealing in the interim with such political and security problems as may be brought before it, the Committee would make it possible for the Assembly, at its necessarily short annual sessions, to devote more attention to other matters within its scope, notably economic and social problems and the work of the specialized agencies of the UN, which have hitherto been shunted aside by the urgency of political discussions. The American delegation has categorically denied Russia's contention that its proposal for the Interim Committee was intended to by-pass the Security Council, although the United States, as well as other members of the UN, have repeatedly complained that the U.S.S.R.'s excessive use of the veto had deadlocked the work of the Council. In the process of discussion the American proposal underwent several alterations, the most important of which, in the view of the United States, was the decision that voting in the Interim Committee should be not by simple majority, as proposed by this country, but by a two-thirds vote.

Contents of this BULLETIN may be reprinted with credit to the Foreign Policy Association.

The resolution finally approved by the General Assembly on November 13, by a vote of 41 to 6, with six Arab nations abstaining, provides for the establishment of an Interim Committee on which each member of the General Assembly shall have the right to appoint one representative. This Committee, described as "a subsidiary organ of the General Assembly," shall have as its task to assist the Assembly "in the performance of its functions" by considering and reporting on such matters as have been referred to it. It will also conduct investigations and appoint commissions of inquiry within the scope of its duties. An investigation or inquiry elsewhere than at the headquarters of the UN, however, "shall not be conducted without the consent of the state or states in whose territory it is to take place"—a qualification which, in the opinion of some delegates and observers, greatly limits the range of the Interim Committee.

The Committee, "interim" by definition, is to be convened by the Secretary General of the UN not later than six weeks following the close of the General Assembly, and is to report at the Assembly's next session on the advisability of establishing a permanent committee to perform the duties listed in the resolution, "with any changes considered desirable in the light of experience." To allay the apprehensions of countries which feared that the Interim Committee might become a device to by-pass the Security Council, it is expressly stated that the Committee shall not consider any matter "of which the Security Council is seized."

WILL BOYCOTT REPLACE VETO? Considerable anxiety has been expressed at Lake Success that Russia and its supporters, by boycotting the Interim Committee as well as the Balkan and Korean commissions, will so seriously cripple the UN as in effect to destroy it; and that their boycott of Assembly organs will prove more fatal to international organization than the Russian veto in the Security

Council. American circles, however, express optimism on this point. Russia, it is admitted, would prefer to settle all controversial questions directly through bilateral negotiations with the United States, the only other great power left in the world. It therefore resists all attempts to introduce new international machinery for the handling of these questions, being convinced that the United States resorts to this method solely because it can count on a majority of votes in the Assembly, where Russia has no veto. The American view, however, is that, if the Russian delegation undertook to present practicable alternatives to American proposals, without aggressive vituperation, it might well succeed in gaining far greater voting support in the UN than it now enjoys. The compromise reached on Palestine by the United States and Russia, with the aid of Canada, is cited as evidence on this point.

Russia, it is thought, has no desire to withdraw from the UN, or to wreck the Assembly, where it finds a useful forum for presentation of its own views to the world. Once the machinery of the UN functions effectively, it is hoped that Russia may decide to work through Assembly organs rather than maintain the boycott. In this connection, it has been pointed out that Russia's 1946 opposition to the Trusteeship Council, which the Soviet government is still boycotting, materially abated at the present session of the Assembly. The most constructive contribution the United States can now make, it is thought, is to enlarge as much as possible the sphere of operations of the UN. But, while giving vigorous support at the present session to strengthening of the UN, the United States has preferred to carry out the program of European economic reconstruction outside the UN framework, in spite of the fact that Russia does not have the veto either in the Economic and Social Council, or in the European Economic Commission.

VERA MICHELES DEAN

U.S. GROUP RAISES CAPITAL TO DEVELOP LIBERIA'S RESOURCES

In his annual message on November 21 to the legislature of the 100-year-old African Republic of Liberia, President W. V. S. Tubman will ask for approval of an 80-year concession to American businessmen for a scheme that promises mutual benefits to American business, to Liberia, and to the United States. Stettinius Associates, organized by former American Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., is the financial group which plans to invest private capital in the little developed resources of Liberia. Exploration of business opportunities will be undertaken by the Liberia Company, to be owned jointly by Stettinius Associates and the Liberian government. The Liberia Company expects to use its \$1,000,000 initial working capital to meet the ad-

ministrative expense of interesting investors in subsidiary companies in which the Company will hold stock. Probable undertakings for the first subsidiary organizations are the establishment of a bank, a trading company, and companies to develop Liberia's resources in iron and timber. Other development possibilities include cocoa, gold, diamonds, manganese, platinum, palm oil, cashew and cola nuts, tung oil, coffee and tropical fruits. Of about 1,000,000 shares in the stock of the Liberia Company, 250,000 will be given to the Liberian government and 100,000 to a Liberian Educational Foundation for the promotion of much needed educational activities.

LIBERIA'S NEEDS. Education is not Liberia's only need. The small republic of 43,000 square miles

and 1,500,000 people has successfully maintained a hazardous existence as an independent state during the past century, but conditions of life are inferior to those prevailing in near-by British and French colonies which have better services in education, medicine, communications, social welfare and other fields. The poverty of Liberia is illustrated by the fact that, although war-time trade enabled the government to double its revenue, the budget is still only \$2,000,000 a year. Even in political development the tiny republic is backward, for it is dominated by an Americo-Liberian oligarchy, descendants of freed slaves from America who number only 1 per cent of the population. It is to the credit of President Tubman, who began an eight-year term in January 1944, that the new administration has inaugurated a reform program to remedy some of these abuses and deficiencies.

AMERICAN INTERESTS. When Stettinius Associates presented their Liberian plans to the United States Department of State they were informed that the Department had no objections. In fact a representative of the Department, acting as an observer, had already attended conferences between Stettinius Associates and representatives of the Liberian government. America's immediate interests in Liberia are (1) a modern American-built seaport on the verge of completion and said to be capable of quick transformation into a submarine base, (2) the profits American business expects to make, and (3) a loan of \$19,275,000 which Liberia received from lend-lease funds for construction of the seaport, port works and access roads. Article 7 of the December 31, 1943 port agreement between Liberia and the United States grants this country "the right to establish, use, maintain, improve, supplement, guard and control, in part or their entirety," at American expense, "such naval, air and military facilities and installations at the site of the port, and in the general vicinity thereof," as it may desire for the protection of its "strategic interests . . . in the South Atlantic." During the war the United States built and operated a great air base at Robertsfield.

Revenues from the port are supposed to enable Liberia to repay the American loan, at which time operation and ownership of the port will pass to the Liberian government. At the moment, however, Liberia's exports are so few that the port will operate at a deficit. In part to correct this situation the State Department is continuing the Liberian Economic Mission inaugurated in 1944 under the war-time

Foreign Economic Administration. With about one hundred employees and an annual budget of approximately \$300,000, the Economic Mission intends, during a five-year period, to survey Liberian resources, formulate plans for the development of these resources, and provide upon request technical assistance to implement its plans.

Until the seaport is taken over by the Liberian government, it will be operated by the Monrovia Port Management Company, which the State Department helped to create. This company consists of the Liberian government and six interested American firms (Firestone Corporation, Liberian Mining Company, American South African Line, Mississippi Shipping Company, Socony-Vacuum, and Texaco), each of which has agreed to contribute \$25,000 to meet operation deficits. Other benefits Liberia is receiving from America include the United States Public Health Mission originally sent out to improve health conditions for American military personnel during the war, and grants from the State Department to the Booker T. Washington Institute, a Liberian school which is now training 148 boys, emphasizing vocational subjects.

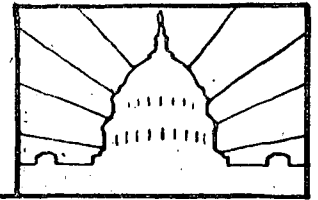
AMERICAN RESPONSIBILITIES. The United States has responsibilities to the Liberian people not only because of America's original role in founding Liberia, but also because of our present insistence on the advancement of backward peoples governed by other powers. Britain, France and Liberia have all recognized that the United States is "next friend" of Liberia. The State Department, fully aware of our interests and responsibilities, wants Congressional approval for two requests. The deadline for expenditure of Liberia's \$19,275,000 lend-lease funds is June 30, 1948. The State Department hopes for a two-year extension of this deadline because there is about \$2,000,000 left in these funds, enough to construct a vitally important bridge across the Saint Paul River connecting the port with the rich Bomi Hills iron ore deposit to the north. If the bridge is not built, Liberia cannot export enough to acquire the revenue necessary to repay the lend-lease grant. The Department's second plea is for continuation of the Public Health Mission. This could be done if Congress would permit the Mission to remain after withdrawal of military personnel, or if the Public Health Mission, like the Economic Mission, is assigned to the American legation in Monrovia.

VERNON MCKAY

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Washington News Letter



INADEQUATE INFORMATION PROGRAM HAMPERS U.S. IN WORLD AFFAIRS

The response of the public here and abroad to proposals for a European Recovery Program will provide a measure of the effectiveness of the government's informational policies with respect to foreign affairs. Available evidence suggests that these policies are at present inadequate. Wherever one travels in the United States one finds that citizens are dissatisfied, or at least puzzled, by official explanations so far given them about the nature and purpose of the program. The reports on the subject prepared by the Harriman Committee and other government groups have meaning for economists and for political leaders in Washington; but they apparently have not clarified the issue for the mass of citizens. In Europe, Soviet radio broadcasts daily criticize the program as a device for American encroachments on the sovereignty of the participating countries. The broadcasts prepared by the State Department's Office of Information and Educational Exchange have proved unable so far to dispel the suspicions thus planted.

OVERSEAS INFORMATION: The importance of the European Recovery Program at this critical stage in world affairs emphasizes the need for improving our overseas informational activities, not alone through more and better radio broadcasts but through the establishment of larger libraries abroad, the assignment of more lecturers to our foreign diplomatic missions, and the development of a systematic program for providing foreign newspapers and radio stations with background articles on life in the United States. Many members of Congress who scorned this need six months ago have changed their minds. Their visits to Europe this summer acquainted them with the propaganda activities of the Soviet Union. While this country would serve its interests by maintaining an effective overseas information program even if there were no rivalry with the Soviet Union, the ill-feeling now existing between the United States and the U.S.S.R. draws sharp attention to the role and power of publicity in modern world affairs.

The present overseas information program of the State Department, not authorized by statute, is only temporary. The Department, moreover, has not yet appointed an Assistant Secretary of State to guide the program since William Benton's resignation from that office on September 24. Representative Karl Mundt, Republican, of South Dakota, one of last summer's travelers, expects in the coming regular session of Congress to sponsor a bill giving permanent status to the Office of Information and Edu-

cational Exchange. On June 24 the House passed such a bill, 273 to 94, but the Senate did not consider it. Mundt suggested to the House Foreign Affairs Committee on November 14 that the United States spend \$300,000,000 in the coming six years on overseas informational activities. For the current year President Truman requested \$31,300,000, and Congress appropriated \$12,800,000.

The effectiveness of government informational programs depends on the manner in which facts are presented as well as on the quantity of material distributed. Urging that the United States adopt a "psychological offensive" in its contest for power and influence with the Soviet Union, Professor Harold D. Lasswell, of the Yale University Law School commented on November 15 that up to now Communists have made more effective use of information in foreign affairs than non-Communists. A defensive note often characterizes American programs, which could be invigorated without abandonment of the policy of strict adherence to truth and fact. Still more important to the success of the information programs is the substantive foreign policy of the United States. Information specialists cannot undo the acts of any country or its government. For example, any suggestion that the Administration shared the opinion, expressed by some Americans, that we should withhold European recovery funds from Socialist governments, would provide the Russians with a germ of truth for their charge that the United States uses dollars to interfere in the affairs of other nations.

INFORMATION AT HOME: As a corollary to Representative Mundt's proposals, Congress might well study the possibility of improving the domestic informational services of the State Department. Competent newspapermen recently visiting the South and Middle West have found strong opposition to the European program. The channels through which the Administration can communicate the facts on this subject in understandable terms to those skeptics are inadequate. The opportunities of the press representatives at the State Department to obtain anything but the most formal information have been declining during the past ten months. Regulations recently adopted by the Federal government's Security Advisory Board would decrease the amount of information available to the public by authorizing the State Department to classify as "secret" any documents that might harm "the national prestige."

BLAIR BOLLES

Brief Who's Who of Candidates

FREDERICK LEWIS ALLEN—Member, Board of Directors, Foreign Policy Association since 1944; with *Harper's Magazine* since 1923; Editor since 1941; Vice President, Harper & Brothers, publishers. Author, *Only Yesterday*, *Since Yesterday*, the text of *I Remember Distinctly*, etc.

JANE C. CAREY (MRS. ANDREW GALBRAITH CAREY)—A.B. Vassar, Ph.D. Columbia in Government (including International and Constitutional Law); Assistant Professor of Government, Barnard College; 1943 to 1946 Assistant Adviser on Refugees and Displaced Persons in the Department of State; 1945 Member of the International Secretariat, San Francisco Conference on United Nations; 1946-47 Consultant, U.S. Department of State; at present working on a study of minorities in post-war Europe. A Trustee of Vassar College since 1941; Trustee, Mt. Vernon College since 1941. Author of *Deportation of Aliens*, *The Rise of a New Federalism*, and numerous articles on government, constitutional law and international relations.

JOHN FORREST CHAPMAN—Vice President, McGraw-Hill International Corporation; publisher of *McGraw-Hill Digest*, *Ingenieria Internacional Industria*, *Ingenieria Internacional Construcción*; Director, McGraw-Hill World News Service. Formerly instructor at American colleges in China and Greece; Research Editor of *Magazine of Business*; and for many years Foreign Editor of *Business Week* during which time he made annual survey trips to Europe, South America and the Far East. Member, Phi Beta Kappa, Sigma Delta Chi, Council on Foreign Relations, and Overseas Press Club.

SHERMAN EWING—Lawyer; theatrical producer; member, Board of Directors, American National Theater and Academy, Alexander Smith Carpet Company.

MRS. HENRY GODDARD LEACH—Member, Board of Directors, Foreign Policy Association since 1919; State Chairman, New York League of Women Voters 1925-30, and member of Advisory Council since 1937; member, New York State Health Commission 1930-32, New York State Commission on Administration of Justice 1930, New York State Commission on Cost of Public Education 1933, Minimum Wage Board of State of New York 1935-37; decorated by King of Sweden for activities in connection with Swedish Tercentenary 1938.

MRS. HOWELL MOORHEAD—Member, Board of Directors, Foreign Policy Association since 1928; A.B. Bryn Mawr, 1904; graduate student, University of Grenoble, 1907; lived in England, France, Italy, 1904-07; Red Cross Headquarters, Washington, D.C., December 1917-March 1919; visited League of Nations as representative of the F.P.A. 1923-28; joined F.P.A. staff as Secretary of the Opium Research Committee, October 1922; Assistant to the Research Director, 1927-28.

JAMES GRAFTON ROGERS—Member, Board of Directors, Foreign Policy Association since 1945; lawyer; educator; Assistant U.S. Secretary of State, 1931-33; Master, Timothy Dwight College and Professor of Law, Yale University, 1935-42; Office of Strategic Services, Washington, D.C., 1942-43; founder, 1912, and President, Civic League of Denver (Colorado); President, Mayor's Advisory Council, Denver, 1923; member, American Bar Association; member, Board of Editors *American Bar Journal* since 1942; author of many published papers and addresses; President, Foreign Bondholders Protective Council, Inc., New York, N. Y.

CHARLES L. STILLMAN—Vice President and Treasurer of Time, Inc.; joined *Time*, the weekly newsmagazine, as Business Manager 1928, elected Treasurer of Corporation 1930, became Vice President in 1939; Director of the General Precision Equipment Corporation; President and Director of Henry Luce Foundation; Chairman of Addison Gallery Associates.

The Annual Meeting of the Foreign Policy Association, Incorporated,

will be held at 22 East 38th Street, New York 16, N. Y.
on Saturday, December 13, 1947, at 11:00 a.m.

WM. W. LANCASTER, Chairman of the Board

NOMINEES FOR BOARD OF DIRECTORS

The candidates listed below have been nominated to serve on the Board of Directors of the Foreign Policy Association, Incorporated, as indicated, and have expressed their willingness to act if elected. The word "Re-election" appears after the names of the present members of the Board of Directors who have consented to run again.

The nominees for Directors at Large have been nominated by the Nominating Committee and the other nominees have been nominated by the five areas and the two branches having more than one thousand members each in accordance with Article VI of the By-Laws.

Only members of the Association who are citizens of the United States have voting privileges.

Nominating Committee: Mr. Eustace Seligman, *Chairman*
Mr. Alger Hiss
Mr. Harold B. Hoskins
Mrs. Frederic R. King

Please note that proxies cannot be used unless returned signed by the member.

Please cut along this line and sign and return the proxy to the office of the Foreign Policy Association, Incorporated, 22 East 38th Street, New York 16, N. Y.

PROXY

I authorize Brooks Emeny and Helen M. Daggett or either of them or a substitute to vote in my behalf for the Directors of the Foreign Policy Association, Incorporated, named below, and upon any other matter that may come before the annual meeting on December 13, 1947.

CLASS OF 1950

FREDERICK L. ALLEN Director at Large	RE-ELECTION	JAMES GRAFTON ROGERS Director at Large	RE-ELECTION
MRS. JANE C. CAREY Director at Large		CHARLES L. STILLMAN Director at Large	
JOHN CHAPMAN Director at Large		JUDGE LAWRENCE G. BROOKS Boston Representative	
SHERMAN EWING Director at Large		EDWARD S. MORRIS Philadelphia Representative	
MRS. HENRY GODDARD LEACH Director at Large	RE-ELECTION	CHANDLER BULLOCK New England Representative	
MRS. HOWELL MOORHEAD Director at Large	RE-ELECTION		

CLASS OF 1949

IRVING T. RUNEY New York State Representative		DR. W. L. GODSHALL Middle East Representative	

CLASS OF 1948

HAROLD E. WOOD North Central Representative		CLAYTON FRITCHEY South and Southwest Representative	

(A brief "Who's Who" of the candidates for Directors at Large is given on the back of this page.)

(Sign here)

Member